

Kirsten Nell

**ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION DISCOURSE IN  
FINLAND: an epistemic governance perspective**

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Examiner:  
Examiner: Ali Qadir  
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# Abstract

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English is a global language for international cooperation with a long history of being taught in Finland yet the increase in English language education in Finland has been heavily debated within Finnish media and the Finnish public. The major theme within this discourse found in prior research is that Finland needs to exist within a globalised and modern world but that people feel that the Finnish language and Finnish should be protected. Prior literature explored what the attitudes towards English were and what people were arguing but did not look at how these arguments were being constructed and made. This research uses an epistemic governance perspective to explore how actors justify their arguments when discussing English language education in Finland. The research questions are (a) How do actors justify their position as being either for or against the increased use of English language within the Finnish education system? (b) What arguments do actors use when trying to convince others? The data consisted of news articles from YLE. The data was analysed using discourse analysis. Key findings are that there were three main themes arguing for increased English: economic competition, human rights and internationalisation and three main themes arguing against increased English: economic competition, human rights and nationalism. Different categories of speakers focussed on various issues with varying levels of epistemic capital. The discourse differed by educational level: Daycare, school and university. This thesis was able to add to the existing literature on the topic as it explored the discourse on English language education in a more contemporary setting and explored how these arguments were made.

Keywords: Epistemic Governance, Finland, English language education, discourse analysis

The originality of this thesis has been verified using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

## USE OF AI IN THESIS

I have utilised AI tools in my thesis:

No

Yes

# Preface

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Tampere, 26 October 2024

Kirsten Nell

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 The Globalised World

Globalisation has meant that people across the world are able to engage with each other more frequently and intensely (Scholte 2008). There has been a greater flow of people and information in recent history and the world has become more interconnected than ever with ideas and trends having the ability to spread throughout the world in a very short period of time (Nguyen 2017). The world is so interconnected that it shares some aspects of culture and many structural similarities between very different nations (Alasuutari & Qadir 2016). Countries often appear to follow global models and as such they often have many surprising similarities (Alasuutari 2013). For example: countries like Finland and Vietnam have introduced similar higher education policies promoting student mobility (Nguyen 2017). Prior research shows that global models are adapted to the local context by actors and that trends and ideas do not spread in one direction (Alasuutari 2013).

Our interconnected nature has become common knowledge, and it has become normalised. Being able to contact people from across the world is no longer seen as novel. Smartphones enable people to communicate instantly across the globe (Michie 2017). There has been increased globalisation recently as people are able to live anywhere in the world as Digital nomads because their jobs do not require their physical presence in an office (Collins & Robinson 2023). Yet this globalised world is not as new a phenomenon as we tend to think as there has been a long history of global connections and intercultural contact (Hopkins 2011). This interconnection can be seen in studies on globalisation and studies on policy making where actors have made references to other countries in their parliamentary debates for a long time (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Tyrkkö 2018).

We exist within a globalised world that has its own culture as well as its own shared norms and ideals. New ideas and concepts are able to spread across the world. Language plays a vital role in

this ability to spread ideas across the world as speaking the same language allows for an easier flow of information.

## 1.2 English as a global language or a “Lingua Franca”

There is a long history of lingua franca languages being used to trade and exchange information internationally. These include languages such as Sanskrit and Latin. Modern examples of lingua franca are English, Spanish, French, German, Chinese, Arabic, Russian, Portuguese, Hindustani, Malay, Swahili and sign languages. These and others are commonly used as bridging languages for increased communication between different groups of people.

English has become the most commonly used global language in the modern day and this is in part due to its historical significance as the language spoken by the British colonialists (Crystal 2003; Hoegaerts et al. 2022). It is also the main language spoken within the United States of America which was a significant global superpower during the twentieth century (Crystal 2003). English is the most predominantly spoken language in the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia and it is an official language of 53 different countries. It is used within international communication by organisations such as the Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations, the European Union and the African Union.

The abundance of English language media and in more recent years social media has made it easier to learn English and provided motivation for people to choose to study English rather than study a different foreign language (Akpan 2021). Nowadays many people choose to study English during their schooling or outside of formal education with many parents choosing to place their children into English speaking international schools in order to improve their English language skills from a young age (Wright, Ma & Auld, 2022). This use of English as the lingua franca is also the case within the Nordic region where English has become the de facto language of communication and cooperation between different Nordic countries replacing Swedish in this role (Peterson & Fägersten, 2023; Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen 2014). English is currently seen in Finland as a lingua franca and a global language (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008; Karjalainen 2018; Frick, Räisänen & Ylikoski 2023; Hynninen 2013; Peterson & Fägersten 2023; Rönkä 2013).



English has become a global language used by many as a lingua franca for international communication and cooperation. This means that many people who have different native languages use English as a means of communication.

### 1.3 English Discourse In Finland

English is a topic heavily debated by the Finnish public. It is a topic that comes up in a wide range of settings and there is news about it almost monthly. There is a prevailing notion that the increasing use of English especially amongst the youth is threatening to Finnish and may lead to deteriorating Finnish skills or to Finnish becoming an obsolete language. People have argued that there needs to be more protection of Finnish while others argue that English is very important in Finland and needed. This debate can be seen across Finland in a range of contexts.

There are many examples of this debate on English in Finland. In October 2021 students at Aalto University filed a complaint against the University's language policies as many masters level courses were only available in English despite the degree programme being in Finnish. This led to such public discussion on language policies at the University level and revisions to the policies in 2023 (Aalto 2023). There are examples of this debate within politics and governance with the Mayor of Helsinki in 2021 also suggesting that Helsinki should declare itself to be an English speaking city with people critiquing the suggestion heavily (Al Husaini 2023). This debate extends to businesses where people have criticised restaurants and other businesses for being primarily English speaking (YLE news 2023) and have pushed back on places being named in English such as the Mall of Tripla (Myller 2023). The choice of language within the Eurovision Song Contest sparks debate every year in Finland with Finnish people arguing for and against the songs being in either English or Finnish (Robertson 2023). In many of the given examples above people see the increasing encroachment of English as being linked to the potential loss of national identity and pride.

This debate on English also extends to the education sector where many Finnish students learn to speak English as a foreign language. English has become the most studied foreign language in Finland and is one of the most studied languages across the world (Rao 2019). The use of English within Finnish education has been debated heavily when discussing issues of culture, identity and nationhood as English tends to be seen as threatening Finnish and Finnishness (Saarinen & Saarinen 2020; Leppänen & Pahta 2012; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003). Most of the existing literature

on English language education has focussed on how well Finns are able to speak English (Hoegaerts et al. 2022), what the attitudes are towards English (Bergroth 2007) and whether or not the increased use of English in Finland threatens Finnish (Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen 2014). The research that has looked into and analysed these discussions has focussed on investigating whether English actually is a tangible threat to the Finnish language or has explored how prevalent this idea is. The results of these studies have found English to be a significant language in Finland and found that the Finnish public is largely positive about English (Leppänen. Et al. 2009). Given that the majority of these studies were done over a decade ago there is a need to look into the discourse on English education again. Prior literature focussed on what the attitudes towards English were and what people were arguing but did not look at how these arguments were being constructed and made. This is a very important aspect that has not been explored in prior research. Actors use certain strategies in how they express themselves in order to convince others and this has not yet been investigated on the topic of English language education in Finland. Actors furthermore bring up arguments that they feel will convince their audience and will invoke certain authority that they feel like support their argument. This research aims to deepen our understanding of this debate by analysing what arguments people bring up when discussing English education in Finland and how they make these arguments. It will also look into what authorities they invoke when making their arguments and what imageries they use. This focus on how actors justify their position requires a different theoretical background to those used in prior research on this topic. Using an epistemic governance framework will allow for analysis on how these arguments are being justified.

The following section will explore the background and literature relevant to this research by looking at the language policies in Finland and within Finnish education as well as the history of English education in Finland and the current debates on English education. The theoretical background section will explain the theory that informs this research and will explain Epistemic Governance and Epistemic work. It will look at authority as epistemic capital and the imageries and metaphors that actors employ when doing epistemic work. The methodology section includes the research questions, what the data is, how the data was chosen, collected and analysed as well as the limitations of this research. This will be followed by a section explaining the main findings of the research. The findings are arranged so that arguments for increased English education in Finland are first by theme, then by speaker then by educational level. Arguments against increased English education are next and they will likewise be by theme, then by speaker and then by educational level. Then there will be a discussion section reflecting on the findings. This is followed by the

conclusion and recommendations for future research. Lastly, there will be the reference list and appendix.

## 2. Background and Literature

This section will explore the relevant background and literature for this research. It will look at the language policies in Finland and in Finnish education, the history of English education in Finland and the current debates within the discourse.

### 2.1 Language policies in Finland

Due to the language history in Finland, there are legal regulations in place giving preference to Finnish and Swedish (Saarinen & Rontu 2018). In short, the area that is today Finland was a part of Sweden before 1809 when it became the Grand Duchy of Finland as a part of the Russian Empire (Saari 2012). During Swedish rule, Swedish was the only official language used in governance and there was a separation between the Swedish speaking ruling class and the Finnish speaking working class (Saari 2012). Under the Russian empire, Finland remained fairly autonomous but there was a Finnish nationalist movement called the Fennoman movement which emphasised the importance of speaking Finnish (Lindgren, Lindgren & Sari, 2011). Many of those that spoke Swedish as a first language learnt Finnish and it became possible to access more things in Finnish such as education (Lindgren et al. 2011). The motto that came out of the Fennoman movement is still widely known today in Finland (Lindgren et al. 2011).

We are not Swedes,  
We do not want to be Russians,  
So let's be Finns.

In 1900 Russian became the official language of administration in Finland, this along with other changes in governance led to Finland declaring itself independent of Russian rule in 1917 (Jussila 1977; Lindgren et al. 2011). The protection of Finnish is central to Finland becoming independent and is an important aspect in Finnish identity.

Finland has two official languages; Finnish and Swedish but is predominantly a Finnish speaking nation (Karjalainen 2018). In 2015; 90% of the population were speaking Finnish as their mother tongue with 5% speaking Swedish as their mother tongue and 5% speaking another language as their mother tongue (Karjalainen 2018; Ylönen 2015). By 2022 this had shifted to 85% speaking Finnish as their mother tongue, 5% speaking Swedish as their mother tongue and 8-9% speaking another language as their mother tongue (Statista 2024). The main languages spoken by immigrants in Finland are Russian, Estonian, Arabic, English and Somali.

The Language Act states that the national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish and that the people of Finland have the constitutional right to use their language in court and in other important settings (Ministry of Justice 2003). The goal of the Language Act is to ensure that everyone has access to good administration and a fair trial regardless of their spoken language (Ministry of Justice 2003). The Act states that the Church and Universities are exempt from this Act as they have specific policies which govern their actions. It also states that provisions for the Saami languages as protected languages are explained separately. The Ministry of Justice states that there are officially recognised minority languages such as those spoken by the indigenous people of the region, the Sami that have the right to maintain their own language. Other minority languages are Romani, Finnish sign Language, Finland- Swedish sign language and Karelian.

## 2.2 Language policy in Finnish education

Finland has educational policies ensuring that there are Finnish and Swedish speaking schooling opportunities from kindergarten until university (Nuolijärvi 2011; Harju-Autti & Sinkkonen 2020). The Basic Education Act outlines that education is done in either of the national languages of Finland (Ennser-Kananen et al. 2023). Students learn in either Finnish or Swedish and have been introduced to another language which is called their A1 language in third grade (Nuolijärvi 2011). The students in grades one to six must take an A1 language and they are given the opportunity to take an optional A2 language. In grades seven to nine they are required to take another compulsory language B1 and are given the opportunity to take an elective language B2 (Nuolijärvi 2011). Typically, the A1 language is either one of the national languages of Finland: Finnish or Swedish or a foreign language such as English. In 2018 it was decided to lower the starting age for studying a student's first foreign language so that students now start studying their A1 language from the first grade (Suikkanen, 2022). Recently the majority of Finnish students have chosen to focus on learning

English with many in Finland seeing English as the most important language after Finnish with it being the most commonly chosen foreign language with over 90% of Finnish people taking English as their foreign language choice (Bergroth 2007; Ennser-Kananen et al. 2023).

For students that have a language other than Finnish or Swedish as their first language, they get taught Finnish or Swedish as a second language (Ennser-Kananen et al. 2023). These students are offered Heritage Language Teaching which is intended to help them retain skills in their home languages. The main languages within these language groups were Russian, Arabic and Somali and there were over 20 000 students participating in this programme in 2019 in over 50 languages (Ennser-Kananen et al. 2023).

The University Act outlines the expectations for Universities in Finland and it states that the language of instruction and examination is Finnish unless it is one of the listed Swedish speaking universities or has chosen to have another language alongside Finnish or Swedish (2009). Finnish universities are required to take into account Finnish constitutional bilingualism when drafting their language policies (Saarinen & Rontu 2018). Despite this, in the majority of universities Finnish and English are the self-evident primary languages of the university (Saarinen & Rontu 2018). The use of English within Finnish higher education is also made less visible as programmes are referred to as being taught in foreign languages instead of in English (Saarinen & Nikula 2013; Saarinen 2012b). Universities throughout Finland have significantly increased the use of English with many programmes being offered in English and English being used within courses that are listed as being in Finnish (Ylönen 2015; Saarinen 2012b). This increased use of English can also be seen within university publications with 99% of all medical dissertations in the Nordics being written and published in English (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008).

As English is seen as a global language, programmes taught in English are frequently used within Finnish universities as a way of internationalising (Saarinen & Rontu 2018; Dervin et al. 2012). Universities in Finland strived for increased internationalisation after the 2009 university reform (Saarinen 2012a; Dervin et al. 2012). Internationalisation was defined as increasing the international mobility of students, teachers and researchers (Saarinen 2012a; Pennanen 2016). Universities have emphasised the need to use English within the university and it has become very commonly used within practical use (Saarinen & Rontu 2018; Saarinen & Nikula 2013). Classes being taught in English were seen as offering internationalisation in two ways as they allowed those without Finnish language skills to study in Finland and provided an opportunity for Finns to engage with English and

with other cultures thus increasing their cultural competence (Saarinen 2012a). Many international students choose Finland as their exchange destination due to the perception that they will be able to get by with only English while in Finland (Rönkä 2013). Aalto University decided to teach all of its Masters' degree programmes in English (Ylönen 2015). This increased use of English has led to increased backlash against the use of English at universities with regulations being proposed to protect national languages within universities in Finland (Saarinen & Rontu 2018; Ylönen 2015).

## 2.3 The history of English education in Finland

There is a long history of English being taught in schools in Finland that dates back to the 1920s (Karjalainen 2018). English has been taught in Finnish schools and used in Finland for at least 70 years (Hoegaerts et al. 2022; Takala 1983). The Nordic region in general has had a long exposure to English despite it being a foreign language (Peterson & Fägersten 2023). The English language entered the Nordic region more rapidly after World War Two through cultural imperialism (Peterson & Fägersten 2023; Pahta & Taavitsainen 2011; Hoegaerts et al. 2022). The Nordic region has some of the best non-native English speakers in the world (Hoegaerts et al. 2022). There is high English proficiency, especially amongst Nordic youth who are exposed to English in their schooling and also through pop culture and social media (Peterson & Fägersten 2023). Finland is no exception to this as many Finns have excellent English and this is attributed to their formal education in English starting early as well as their cultural attitudes and practical choices towards English exposure (Hoegaerts et al. 2022). Typically in Finland television shows and movies will not dub shows from other languages but will provide subtitles in Finnish allowing additional exposure to English (Hoegaerts et al. 2022).

The vast majority of Finns choose to learn English during their schooling with Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen finding that 60% of primary school pupils chose English for either their compulsory or their optional language while 90% of students learn English at some point during their schooling (2014). Nuolijärvi found that 99.3 % of students in grades 7-9 chose English as either a compulsory or optional language (2011). English is strongly used by the youth in Finland with it being used for intercultural communication between Swedish and Finnish speaking youth (Leppänen 2007). These statistics show how commonly English is learnt amongst Finnish youth. It has been shown how many young Finns are integrating English terms and phrases into their daily lives through glocalising (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008; Leppänen & Nikula 2007). English has become the most commonly

spoken foreign language in Finland and has as a result has received a lot of attention within Finnish media and has sparked much debate within the Finnish public.

## 2.4 Current debates on English education

There is a wide range of opinion and discourse surrounding the use of English in Finland and there has been lots of research looking into the topic.

Much research has focussed on looking into the status of English language education by looking at the prevalence of those studying English. This as shown in previous sections has found that studying English in Finland is very common. The discussion has also often focused on the quality of English that Finns are able to speak. For example, a study looked into the discourse on the use of English on Finnish social media sites finding that there were preferred types of English namely United Kingdom and United States English (Karjalainen 2018). The “good English” that Finns strive to emulate is positioned in opposition to “Rally English” (Hoegaerts et al. 2022). This focus on the ability of Finns to speak English well is because of how English is seen. Finnish people see English as advantageous for those looking to engage in business outside of Finland and they see those that speak it well have a socioeconomic advantage (Peterson & Fägersten 2023). This is the case across Europe where English is seen as a useful language with 77% of Europeans feeling that it was a necessary language to learn compared to only 33% feeling that French was useful and 28% feeling that German is useful (Pahta & Taavitsainen 2011). English is seen as being particularly important in the postmodern world (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008).

English is seen by most Finns as the second most important language in Finland after Finnish (Bergroth 2007) and many feel that English is being treated as a second language rather than a foreign language in contemporary Finland (Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen 2014). Despite this there is very mixed discourse on English within Finland with some seeing the increased use of English as threatening the national languages (Frick et al. 2023; Peterson & Fägersten 2023). Leppänen and Pahta found that positive attitudes often focus on the importance of English to the globalised economy while negative attitudes portray English as threatening to Finnish language and Finnish culture (2012). Bergroth found different repertoires amongst Finnish working professionals with negative attitudes including segregating, national-romanticist, fatalist and realist interpretative repertoires while positive attitudes nationalist, empirist and utilitarian interpretative repertoires (Bergroth 2007). The most comprehensive study on English language discourse in Finland was done



in 2008 by Leppänen, Nikula and Kääntä; the large-scale national survey looked into Finns' attitudes towards English in the 2000s (Hoegaerts et al. 2022). It found that Finns see their own skills in English as good and that most Finns are positive towards English and don't see it as a threat to the Finnish language or Finnish culture (Leppänen. Et al. 2009). The ability to speak English fluently was found to be considered as essential for people to participate in the increasingly multicultural and globalising world (Leppänen. Et al. 2009). There seems to be no actual risk of English replacing Finnish within Finland (Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen 2014). In fact, according to Pahta and Taavitsainen, 80% of Finns do not consider English to be a threat to Finnish (2011). The discourse on English in Finland has been studied in the early 2000s with researchers finding that many Finns consider English to be a necessary global language and see it in a positive light (Leppänen, Nikula & Kääntä 2008) and that English is not a cultural threat for Finnish society (Leppänen & Nikula 2007).

Taking all of this prior research from the early 2000s on English language education discourse in Finland into consideration we can see one major theme emerging within the discourse and that is the perceived clash between globalisation, modernisation and the need to exist within the wider world and the need to protect Finnish. Knowing more about the history of Finland and the history of Finnish language policies it becomes clear that protecting the Finnish language is very strongly connected to the idea of protecting the Finnish identity. This perception of language loss can lead to increased nationalism and calls for the protection of national languages in an example of banal nationalism (Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen 2014). This discourse on increased English language use and a loss of identity is seen across Europe and more broadly (Mocanu 2022) and can be better understood as an example of the coexistence of banal nationalism and cosmopolitan consciousness that happens within World Society.

The existing literature has focussed on exploring the arguments that are present about English language education discourse but it has not explored how actors make these arguments. This research aims to fill this gap in the literature by looking into the seemingly contradictory discourses on English within Finnish education through an epistemic governance framework.

### 3. Theoretical background

This section explores the theoretical background that underpins this research project. English has become the de facto lingua franca across the world and this has led to English language education being a topic of discussion across most of the world (May 2013). This has meant that many countries view English as a threat to their local / national language and culture with examples in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Russia and Sweden (Becker 2024; De Vries 2008; Rivlina 2005; Salö et al. 2014). This idea of English being a threat to a local / national language is an example of an idea which has spread through World Society and been domesticated into different local contexts such as in Finland (Cha & Ham 2011). World Society Theory explains the world as being a globally connected network with a shared World Culture (Meyer 2007; Boli 2005). This World Culture shapes the way that actors think and engage with their world (Boli, 2005; Meyer 2007). World Society Theory helps in understanding specific phenomena by embedding them within a wider social context (Meyer 2010). This theory helps in this research by embedding the discourse on English language education within a wider global context. However, using World Society Theory does not help us in understanding how actors within the Finnish context make and justify their arguments as World Society Theory focuses on the macro context. This research aims to look into how actors try to persuade others and as such it needs an approach that allows for this type of investigation into discourses at the micro level. The approach that best fits is therefore Epistemic Governance as this perspective aids in understanding how actors aim to persuade others that their stance is the correct one.

#### 3.1 Epistemic Governance and Epistemic Work

The Epistemic Governance approach is used to understand how the actors in this study aim to persuade their audience based on their shared perception of the world. Actors aim to influence others by attempting to impact on others' views of reality. Actors are not always conscious of the techniques they are using to persuade others and are often convinced that their actions are needed and that their arguments are correct. An epistemic governance approach allows for a close look at how actors attempt to convince their audience through epistemic work. Epistemic governance in this thesis will be looked at as epistemic work.

Epistemic work refers to how actors use three aspects in the social world to convince others, these three aspects are the ontology of the environment, actors and identification and norms and ideals (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). These three aspects of the social world are used together when trying to persuade others. This use of epistemic work where politicians refer to the ontology of the environment, actors and identification and norms and ideals when trying to convince others can be seen in for example: parliamentary debates. Past research has looked into how Epistemic work is done within parliamentary debates for example one study explored how politicians make cross-national comparisons in parliamentary debates (Vähä-Savo 2020) while another study explored how politicians invoke scientific authority (Qadir & Syväterä 2021). The use of epistemic work during parliamentary debates can be seen in other contexts such as Portuguese parliamentary debates (Santos 2022), parliamentary debates in Northern Ireland (Winkler 2018) or parliamentary debates in Australia, Finland, Kenya and the United Kingdom (Syväterä, Rautalin & Magyari 2023).

Epistemic work focussing on the ontology of the environment refers to actors trying to affect the shared view on the situation by painting the situation in a certain light such as portraying certain policies as being out of date (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014). This can be done by explaining things such as modernization as a natural and expected process and pushing for policies to be changed in order to pursue modernisation (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019).

Actors and identification refers to people's understanding of themselves and of others as actors, so who they are, their community and what other actors exist (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This can be seen in examples of actors appealing to a specific imagined community such as the nation through banal nationalism (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This type of identification with the nation is quite commonly used as a way to frame certain actions or changes as being in the best interest of the nation. This can be seen for example in the speeches given by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic where he addresses his audience as "my fellow South Africans" (Ramaphosa 2020). He further goes on to justify the actions of the South African government by stating "But we all know and agree that this nation-wide lockdown is absolutely necessary to save the lives of thousands, even tens of thousands, of our people." (Ramaphosa 2020). He uses specific language to construct the nation as a family and positions himself as the head or father of the family drawing on a shared understanding with his audience on how a family works (Hunt 2021). Certain actors are considered legitimised within World Society and thus their opinions and views are brought into public discourse more frequently to further justify the actors'

argument (Meyer et al., 1997). This can once again be seen within the speech from Cyril Ramaphosa where he brings scientists into his speech stating: “Our own researchers and scientists have told us that our decision to lock down the country was a correct one.” (Ramaphosa 2020). He uses the commonly understood authority of scientists to justify his chosen actions.

Epistemic work that focuses on people’s norms and ideals can be very persuasive as the actor tries to convince others to do the right thing by appealing to specifically held principles or ideals (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). Commonly held values and principles such as rationality, equality, freedom or loyalty towards fellow citizens (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This can likewise be seen in the speech by President Cyril Ramaphosa where he draws on loyalty towards fellow citizens emphasising how following the proposed measures will ensure that the lives of fellow citizens are saved. He uses shared ideals and norms without South African culture when justifying the new measures.

### 3.2 Authority as Epistemic Capital

An actor can appeal to certain authorities that have epistemic capital which their audience is expected to respect or fear when doing epistemic work and trying to convince others of their proposed change (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). Authority can be based on four types: capacity, ontological, moral or charismatic.

Capacity based capital refers to an actor's power through certain capacities such as violence the threat of violence, wealth and through actions such as collective demonstrations, strikes and lockouts (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). Actors using this kind of capital are often feared and their views and actions are considered by others.

Ontological capital refers to using their shared understanding of the social world as a form of capital through for example the authority of an actor that is considered to present a realistic picture of reality through their specialised knowledge on a topic or by referring to science or scientific facts more broadly (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This use of facts and reality when doing epistemic work can be very persuasive as people tend to hold a lot of respect for scientific research and is thus a convincing argument (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019).

Moral based capital can be held by actors or organisations which are respected for knowing and serving certain principles such as people in the legal field like judges or in religions like priests and the church (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). Speakers use this kind of authority when doing epistemic work that focuses on appealing to people's norms and ideals.

Charismatic based capital is a type of capital ascribed to a person or institution because of their exceptionalism through their character or heroism (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). The actor or institution wielding this charisma is able to influence public opinion on a topic without necessarily having specialised knowledge. An example of a person holding this charismatic based capital would be a celebrity or an influencer as they are able to influence public opinion and promote certain ideas and things that have nothing to do with their specialised skill set (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019).

These four types of capital namely capacity, ontological, moral and charismatic can be used by actors when doing epistemic work. They draw on different authorities' epistemic capital in order to convince their audience.

### 3.3 Imageries and Metaphors

Actors employ certain imageries and metaphors when doing epistemic work (Alasuutari & Qadir 2016). Actors use these imageries when arguing for or against a new reform or new legislation as they draw on a shared world view with those that they seek to convince. The imageries are intended to show how the world is in a way that helps the actor to justify their stance. This use of imageries when arguing for or against a change can be found throughout the world. These imageries include social progress through modernisation, the social world as competing blocs and a hierarchical society (Alasuutari & Qadir 2016).

Underlying the imagery of social process is the idea that society is structured into nation states which aim to follow a process of modernisation where they follow a trajectory from less modern to more modern (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This modernisation is seen as a type of societal evolution and the actions of states and actors are needed in order to progress. States are presumed to want to appear modern to others as no state wants to appear 'backwards' and new ideas or policies are seen as being better than older ones. These ideas can be seen in practice when people talk about countries as being developed or developing or as 'leaders' or 'laggards' in policy change. Actors use this idea of modernisation when justifying new policies as a way of convincing their audience that the new

policy is necessary for the nation. This has been done for example by the Canadian Minister of Health in 2010 who stated that existing policies mean that they “have fallen behind most of the modern world with the current legislation” (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). The use of this imagery is thus an example of doing epistemic work.

The social world as competing blocs is another imagery that is often used when actors argue for a proposed change. This is frequently used in international comparisons where nation states are positioned as being in competition with each other (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This imagery of competing blocs can be seen in a wide range of political discourses like the East-West divide during the Cold War, different religions in competition or globalisation as Americanisation. This imagery can be used in a wider range of contexts such as local governments in competition with each other (Alasuutari 2013).

The imagery of a hierarchical society can also be used when doing epistemic work. This is done when seeing the society world as hierarchical from global to national to local. It can be done at a global level with some states having more power or influence than others or it can be done at a national level where the government is portrayed as being top in the hierarchy (Alasuutari & Qadir 2019). This type of hierarchical imagery is also employed in the example given above with South African president Cyril Ramaphosa where he uses the metaphor of a family to express the hierarchy within the nation of South Africa, he positions himself as the father of the nation and other South African citizens as being children of the nation who should listen and obey (Ramaphosa 2020). He is using the imagery of a hierarchical society in justifying why South Africans should follow the proposed actions being implemented by the government.

The imageries of social progress through modernisation, the social world as competing blocs and a hierarchical society are frequently used when doing epistemic work.

## 4. Methodology (Data and Methods)

This section will explain the data used within this thesis as well as how and why the data was collected and chosen. I will further explain why the data analysis methodology was chosen and how data analysis was conducted.

### 4.1 Research questions

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the discourse on English language education in Finland through an Epistemic governance perspective thus the specific research questions are:

How do actors justify their position as being either for or against the increased use of the English language within the Finnish education system?

What arguments do actors use when doing this epistemic work and what types of epistemic capital do they draw on?

### 4.2 The Data

I have chosen to focus on media as media coverage of a topic mirrors public discourse on that topic. The use of media coverage on a topic has allowed previous researchers to explore how media frames events in certain ways in order to influence public discourse. Framing theory can be used in order to analyse how actors perceive and explain events. Framing theory can thus show how media choose to frame ideas in order to tell a specific type of story or show a particular perspective. This can be helpful when trying to look at the ways in which media can impact and sway public discourse. For example it has been used to explore how the frame of war has been used within the media when discussing the Covid19 pandemic (Wicke & Bolognesi 2020) and when discussing the refugee crisis in the Nordics (Hagelund 2020). This research does not aim to explore how the media uses framing in order to tell a story on English language education in Finland as it explores the epistemic work done by certain actors that are using the medium of media in order to reach a wider audience. This type of approach to analysing discourse has been done from an epistemic governance perspective when exploring topics such as the Land use reform discourse in Finnish media or the discourse on Israel in the context of Eurovision (Sivonen 2019; Oikarinen 2020). The media coverage on the topic

of English language education in Finland will as such provide insight into the public discourse on the topic.

The data for this research consists of news articles from YLE which are available in English and focus on the use of English language within education in Finland. The study of English in Finland starts young and often continues to tertiary education and as such the articles chosen will reflect this and will cover English language education from day care to university.

I have chosen to focus on articles published on YLE as media coverage of a topic often reflects public discourse on that topic. YLE is Finland's national public broadcasting company. It was founded in 1926 and is still 99.98% owned by the Finnish state. It is modelled after and comparable to the British BBC. The majority of Finns are exposed to the news from YLE and Finnish people have trust in YLE. YLE has three national television channels as well as radio channels. It provides programming in both Finnish and Swedish with foreign films and television shows being subtitled. YLE has news broadcasts in English daily on YLE radio. YLE news is the English language news department at YLE which started back in 1999 and aims to serve foreigners living in Finland. YLE news has around 200000 readers per month and is updated frequently. Additionally, YLE News has an English speaking podcast called All Points North which explores the top news in Finland each week. This podcast can be accessed on the YLE news website, through the YLE Areena streaming platform or on Spotify. As the podcast focuses on top stories from the week the topics change. Some topics in 2024 include: APN Podcast: The human cost of Finland's 'education export', APN Podcast: Is sisu the "word that explains Finland"? and APN Podcast: Finland's foreign worker paradox. YLE is thus a trusted and well-known media provider in Finland and as such is an appropriate choice for use in my research.

The data used in this research is available freely on the YLE website and is as such easily available. I limited my data to articles available in English and those available online. The articles are generally short format and can focus on either one topic or on several smaller topics. The names of the writers of each article are seldom mentioned on the webpage. The webpage for YLE news does have a comments area where people are able to make comments on the published articles but it is subject to review and approval before the comments become publicly visible. In order to make comments on the platform it is necessary to make an account with YLE and log in. The majority of articles receive very few comments. The comment section on the web page also closes after a length of time so older articles can no longer receive comments. The articles are further circulated on various social



media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and X (Twitter) all of which allow for commentary on the articles. Comments on the articles were not considered within this data set. The data set was limited to publications published from the start of the YLE English archives up until the 31st of December 2023. This means that it is a universal data set. Linked content like the All Points North Podcast were not included in this data as those are in a different medium and would require additional analysis.

I searched through the YLE English language webpage to find any articles that contained information regarding English language use in Finland. I searched using the term “English language” and sorted through the results to find articles discussing the English language within Finnish education. This yielded 94 articles. These were read through more thoroughly to check if their content discussed the English language within Finnish education. This narrowed down the articles to 82. These articles are the data used in this research and the names and publication dates in the articles can be found in Appendix 1. The articles were sorted by date of publication. The 82 articles were published between 2005 and 2023 and the number of articles discussing English language education in Finland each year is shown in the figure below.

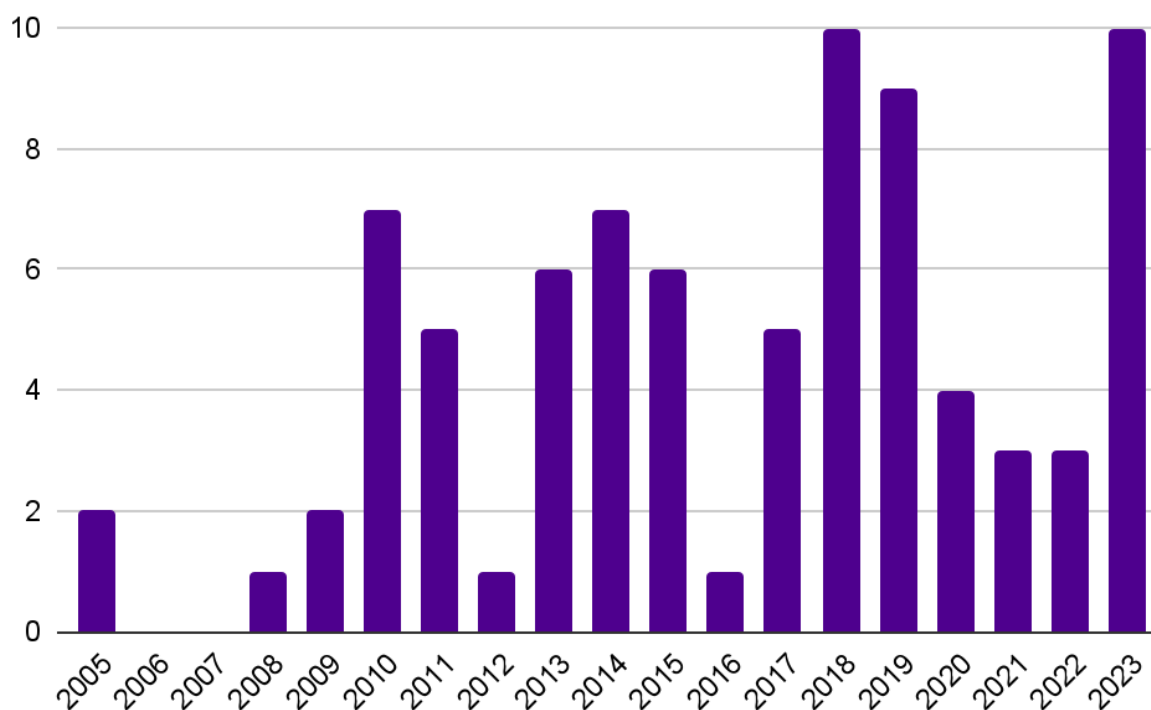


Figure 1: Articles discussing English language education in Finland (per year)

The articles were all downloaded to ensure that they were available for analysis throughout the research process and to preserve their content as older articles are sometimes edited on the YLE site.

### 4.3 Data Analysis

Discourse analysis has been used to analyse the data in this research. Discourse can be defined as what people say or write. Discourse analysis has four key features; the text is naturally occurring, the text can be understood in its context, the analyst takes into account non-literal meaning and the analyst considers the consequences of the words. Discourse analysis can be useful when analysing texts from media reports (Antaki 2008). Given that this data is naturally occurring media coverage focussing on a specific topic discourse analysis is an appropriate choice of data analysis method.

Atlas was used as the qualitative data analysis software. Atlas is a useful tool for doing qualitative data analysis as it allows for coding texts and allows the researcher to look for patterns across the codes and texts (Lewis 2004). It is a very flexible software and as such allowed me to focus on several coding tasks at the same time. It also has a useful search function which meant that I was able to search for keywords in the initial stages of data analysis.

The analysis started with a close reading of the text looking for emerging ideas and themes. This showed that the national languages of Finland: Finnish and Swedish were discussed as well as English. I searched the whole text for these in order to see how frequently each language was mentioned and to be able to see the discussions around each term. All texts have been searched looking for English which was found 414 times in the date, Finnish which was found 289 times and Swedish which was found 153 times. I then looked for other potentially interesting words including globe/global/world, international / internationalisation, university, immigrants/ foreigners, Finland, foreign language, language skills, immigrants, multicultural and university.

I then started reading through the data again with the research question in mind coding for whether a statement was pro or anti increased English language. There are eighty-two statements coded for “against increased English” and seventy-three for “pro increased English”. At the same time, I looked for what arguments were made to justify the writer or speaker's stance. The initial codes here were attracting international talent, competition, creating inequalities, equal opportunity, language skills, freedom of choice, internationalisation, integration, normalisation of English, threatening Finnish and

Swedish, not threatening Finnish and Swedish, not accessible to Finns, human rights. These initial codes were revised several times through the data analysis as it became apparent that some needed to be split as they were clearly talking about two different issues: language skills for example was split into Finnish language skills and foreign language skills.

The codes were then analysed looking for common themes across codes. This resulted in three common themes for increased English and three common themes against increased English. For increased English, these themes were economic competition, human rights and an internationalist argument. While against increased English includes themes of economic competition, Human rights based arguments (For Finns) and a nationalism argument. This can be seen more within the coding sheet below which shows first the key words that were searched, then the initial codes. These initial codes were revised during the data analysis process and were sorted into being either anti increased English education or for increased English education.

Coding Sheet:	
<p>Key words :</p> <p>Finnish, Swedish, English, Finland, Foreign language, language skills, global/globe, world, immigrants, international, internationalisation, multicultural, university, school</p> <p>Initial codes:</p> <p>Creating inequalities between Finns, attracting foreign students and researchers, Harm Finnish workers, attract employees, Seeming less Finnish to customers, Increasing intercultural skills for Finns, Threatens national languages, Improved academic results, linguistic/ language skills (split into Finnish and foreign language skills), English as a world language, Lack of intercultural skills, English as a lingua franca, Other languages needed, Modernisation, Freedom of choice, Keep foreign workers, Multilingual people needed, decreased funding for education, Europe/ European, foreign investment, inclusion, internationalism, multiculturalism, normalisation of English, not a threat to Finnish, not accessible to Finns, Rights</p>	
Codes organised as anti or for increased English	
ANTI	FOR
creating inequalities between Finns	attracting foreign students and researchers
Harm Finnish workers	attract employees
Seeming less Finnish to customers	Increasing intercultural skills for Finns
Threatens national languages	Improved academic results
Lack of linguistic/ language skills	English as a world language

Lack of intercultural skills	English as a lingua franca
Other languages needed	Modernisation
Freedom of choice	Keep foreign workers
Multilingual people needed	
Master codes:	
ANTI	FOR
<b>Economic competition:</b> multilingual people needed, foreign language skills	<b>Economic competition:</b> attracting international talent, competition, foreign investment
<b>Human rights:</b> creates inequalities, not accessible to Finns	<b>Human rights:</b> equal opportunity inclusion, rights
<b>Nationalism:</b> Finnish language skills, integration, threatens national languages	<b>Internationalism:</b> modernisation: global, internationalisation, multiculturalism, normalisation of English

**Table showing the Coding Sheet**

During data analysis it became clear that different speakers were focussing on different ideas so the data was also coded to reflect the speaker. This was initially done by naming the speaker and how they were described by the article for example J Smith: parent of school child. This resulted in over two hundred named speakers and several unnamed speakers as some of those quoted wished to remain anonymous. The speakers were organised into categories: politicians, newspapers, businesses, teachers / teacher representatives, university representatives, parents, foreigners living in Finland. Each category of speaker was analysed separately looking for common themes in the data. This coding allowed me to look into who was considered to be a person with the authority to speak on the topic of English in Finnish education.

Each sector of educational level was coded; daycare education, school education and university level education. If a statement discussed more than one educational level then it was coded for each of the mentioned levels. Each sector was then analysed looking for themes.

Throughout the data analysis it became clear that there were several ways in which the data could be looked at resulting in me coding for several different things such as being pro or anti increased English, speaker and educational level. This shows the richness of the data as it was able to be coded in a range of ways.

### 4.3 Ethical considerations

This research has used publicly available articles which have been published by Finland's main broadcasting company as its data and does not involve direct contact with any participants. The research does not focus on a protected group of people and there are therefore no known significant risks associated with this research.

### 4.4 Limitations

This research has been limited by being a masters thesis as there was limited time, funding, and other resources hence the data was limited to only articles published online on the YLE English language webpage. Comments from the public on the specific news articles were not analysed so public response to the media discourse could not be explored. Additionally, this research was limited by the researcher's language skills as articles in Finnish were not looked at. The research did not explore whether there were differences in discourse between the Swedish speaking and Finnish speaking population, nor did it explore discourse within the Sámi community.

## 5. Findings

This section will explore the findings of the data analysis. The first part will explore the arguments by actors arguing for increased English language education in Finland. It will first look at specific themes, followed by arguments by different groups of speakers then by educational level. The second part will explore the arguments by actors arguing against increased English language education in Finland and follow the same format.

### 5.1 For increased English education in Finland

#### 5.1.1 Themes for increased English education in Finland

There were three main themes found in the data that actors used to support the need for increased English education in Finland. These were the idea of economic competition, a human rights based argument and an internationalist argument.

Economic competition was a common theme when discussing attracting international talent, competition and foreign investment. Economic competition is brought up when talking about Finland being a destination for skilled migrants. The discussions are how English is needed to encourage more foreigners to move to Finland and how having additional services and education in Finland makes integration into Finland easier for people moving here.

Researchers say that foreigners were much more satisfied with the quality of education, especially when compared to education in their home countries. In particular, they were lured to Finland by fee-free tuition and promises of a better career path.

This focus on economic competitiveness ties into the epistemic governance framework as an example of using the imagery of competing blocs. The actors position Finland as being in competition with other countries for international talents and investment. They frame international experts as having the opportunity to live and work anywhere and Finland as needing to make itself look more attractive and appealing to these potential migrants or investors. English education is seen as one way of attracting and retaining these actors as they frequently move to Finland with

their families and need to be able to have their children educated within Finland. This is an example of the cultural framework of competition as there is an assumption that nations like Finland are in competition for international talent and investments (Alasuutari 2013).

Those arguing for the need for increased English education in Finland use the ideal of human rights. Limiting education to only either Finnish or Swedish is also seen as being against human rights as those new to Finland should be able to access Finnish society. This discussion mainly focuses on the experiences of migrants to Finland and their children who are described as having very limited options in what and where to study.

More importantly Bergius said, residents will have an equal opportunity to get information and access to services, the most important of which she lists as education and health care.

This argument based on human rights is used to justify the need for increased English education and is an example of actors doing epistemic work using both the ontology of the social work and peoples' norms and ideals as the actors frame Finnish society in a certain way and appeal to people's ideals regarding human rights.

Internationalisation is a common theme within several of the arguments for increased English education in Finland. Those who argue for increasing English education in Finland point to the idea that Finland is becoming more international and that increasing English education is a rational, expected and necessary change to reflect the reality of the situation. Those that argue for this often point out statistics regarding the need for English and how it has become necessary in the modern world. Those arguing for increased English education argue that it benefits both Finnish citizens and foreigners with some arguing that foreigners moving to Finland need more services available in English. They argue that increasing the amount of study options available in English allows for a better exchange of students at the university level as international students are more incentivised to come to Finland and Finnish students are better able to study abroad and increase their cultural competence and intercultural skills. Part of the argument for this is the idea that internationalisation of education often leads to an increase in the quality of education and benefits the institution and the students.

“Helsinki is becoming more international,” says day care expert Pirjo Verta from the Helsinki City Council. “We have multicultural families, and children who are a bit older but whose

parents work in Finland. Then there are the Finnish-speaking families that want their children to learn English as early as possible.”

Internationalisation in education is seen as being a way to build Finnish people's skills in English as well as their intercultural communication skills. Having increased skills in English is also seen as a way of making Finnish candidates able to access the global job market and is seen as a positive for Finnish people. The English skills and intercultural competence gained by having both Finnish citizens and other nationalities within the education system is seen as beneficial for both groups. This increase in English language education is frequently discussed as being an excellent way of increasing opportunities for Finnish citizens.

"We want Finnish students to go on exchanges abroad and foreign students are wanted in our Masters programmes. In addition, promising researchers are being lured to Aalto. Internationalization is intended to lead to a leap in quality," Raevaara added.

Those arguing for increased English education here draw on the imageries of modern society within their argument. In accordance with the imagery of progress, states have to keep up with the progress of other states to be perceived as modern and acknowledged as successful (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2016). The assumption when employing this imagery is that no state wants to be perceived as backward. This can be seen in how the actors talk about the internationalisation of education as being a positive and necessary step in making Finland a more modern country. This also showcases epistemic work as the actors draw on people's shared understanding of their social world, the identification of actors as well as shared norms and ideals.

### 5.1.2 Speakers supporting the increased English education in Finland

There were different findings for different groups of speakers. The speakers were categorised as politicians, newspapers, businesses, teachers / teacher representatives, university representatives, parents and foreigners living in Finland. Each group of speakers will be explored more in depth to find what arguments they used to argue for increased English language education in Finland.

Businesses and business representatives were mainly for increased English in Finnish education as it allows for international talent or experts to live in Finland temporarily. The business representatives



express the need for services available in English as they allow for foreign people to move to Finland with their families. The ability to access services in English and to provide education in English to the children of these foreign workers is seen as a way of attracting foreign talent.

Finnish mobile gaming giant Supercell's Melanie Dower - a New Zealander in charge of helping the company's new recruits adapt to life in Finland - told daily Helsingin Sanomat that the capital region needs more English-language day care centres. She said that Supercell's good reputation attracts employees from all corners of the world, but that a lack of English-language day care services in the area might be turning away good candidates.

Politicians who are for increased English in Finnish education cite the need to attract foreign workers. The focus is on how the increased use of English can attract more foreign workers and allow them and their children to better integrate into Finnish society. There is a belief that foreign workers are needed in Finland.

“We should capitalise on Finland’s high reputation in the field of education, and use this for the benefit of the national economy,” note MPs Arto Satonen from the National Coalition, Jukka Kärnä from SDP, Ari Tornainen from the Centre Party, and Reijo Tossavainen of the Finns Party.

There are three newspapers referred to by YLE namely; Turun Sanomat, Helsingin Sanomat and Hufvudstadsbladet. The newspapers focus on the growing foreign born population that needs access to services and education in English when arguing for the need for increased English education in Finland.

Meanwhile as HS hones in on Finland’s need to attract more foreign labour, Swedish-language daily Hufvudstadsbladet has latched on to Justice Minister Antti Häkkänen’s comments that Finland must do more to safeguard national languages Finnish and Swedish from the onslaught of English.

Teachers arguing for increased English education in Finland argue that there need to be more English language schools and more specialised training for educators to teach in English.

Meanwhile, speaking on condition of anonymity, one teacher in the Finnish public education system told Yle News that Finland doesn't just need more English-language schools — it also needs more specialised training for Finnish educators working in English.

The university representatives, like lecturers, argued for the need to use English in higher education as a way to be economically competitive as having English courses allows for increased foreign talent in masters degree programmes and increased foreign researchers and academics. This was portrayed by many of the actors as being an inevitable and necessary step.

Saarinen calls the phenomenon—which is also being seen in the other Nordics—"anglophone asymmetry". "We're small countries who want to use attractive English-language programmes to draw in foreign students and researchers," she explained. Nowadays it's not uncommon for Finnish researchers to only publish scholarly papers in English. Given the dominant role of English in the wider academic world, wouldn't switching to English make sense?

This increased English education at the university level was a part of Finnish universities internationalisation efforts which has led to many more English language degrees and courses being offered as a way of attracting international talent by using English as a global language (Dervin et al. 2012). This increased prevalence of English can be seen as the majority of masters thesis papers are written in English.

Parents and foreigners living in Finland arguing for increasing English language education in Finland focussed on whether Finland provides enough opportunities for their children's education and on the fact that English speaking educational spots are very limited and there is fierce competition for them. This intense competition for places within English-speaking schools means that there is limited access to English speaking language education in Finland with Finnish born and foreign-born kids competing for the same spots in English speaking education. This, according to the parents, can result in some foreign-born kids being pushed out of English speaking language education as some foreign-born children do not score high enough to compete with the Finns for places in English speaking schools. This can be seen in the quote below from a parent.

"It's not just international families who want their children to receive their education in English, it's a growing number of Finnish families too. But instead of increasing the number of spots,

administrators are focusing on making the test more challenging, which has in turn weeded out native speakers," the parent, whose British child is in the Finnish-language system, explained.

Parents also spoke on the need to think through the impact of moving to Finland with their children. The immigrants to Finland are often recruited as international talent and bring their families with them when moving. They as such need to look at the educational opportunities for their children.

Efforts to strike a balance between the use of Finnish and English in Finland's education system are proving problematic. This week APN hears from a group of parents frustrated by the City of Espoo's plans to change how English language education is provided in the city. The controversy comes as Finland continues efforts to attract — and keep — skilled workers from abroad to help bridge the nation's ever-widening dependency gap. The Finnish education system's glowing global reputation is often a reason many newcomers choose to settle in Finland. "We are really, really frustrated," Polyana Wichert told the show. "We are even re-thinking if Finland is where we want to be. Because if they are treating us like that, how can we trust that our kids will have continuity?"

### 5.1.3 Arguments for increasing English by educational level

Much of the discussion on English speaking day care education focussed on increasing the amount of English language day cares. This was seen as beneficial for both international families and Finnish speaking children whose parents want them to learn in English from an early age. There needs to be an increased number of these day cares to accommodate international and multicultural families with one article stating that by 2035 a third of school aged children in Finland will speak a foreign language as their mother tongue. The lack of English speaking day care options is seen as a barrier for foreign recruits as they are reluctant to move to Finland without sufficient options for their childrens' education. More English speaking educational opportunities is seen as a way to make Finland more attractive to international talent. Helsinki is mentioned as being a leader in this regard as it has sixteen English speaking daycares. While the neighbouring Vantaa and Espoo are also mentioned as having English speaking daycares.

Increasing numbers of English language day care centres are opening in Helsinki. There are more international families these days, but Finnish-speaking parents are also keen for their offspring to learn English from an early age.

At school level education people arguing for the need for increased English language education focus on the competition for spots in English speaking schools.

But parents told Yle News that the reality on the ground is complicated. Families we spoke to raised concerns ranging from intense competition for places in English-language programmes to problems arising from native upkeep classes only offered after the school day and far from a child's regular school.

Those interviewed by YLE argued that there is a need for separate English language schools or more international schools and that students should be able to take their final exams in English. The argument was that schooling should change in order to better cater to the needs of its changing population. Helsinki, in particular, was said to need to change in order to better serve its growing multicultural population. The increased demand for English language education in Finland was seen in both the foreigners / children of foreigners and Finnish speakers.

“There is very limited access to English-language education in Finland. Demand is higher than supply,” a parent who wished to remain anonymous, told Yle News.

Internationalisation is the second theme found in the discussion on higher education in English in Finland. Universities started offering English taught courses and degrees as a way to increase student mobility. Having courses in English meant that more international students were able to come to Finland to study. The courses being taught in English also provided Finns within the courses the opportunity to practise their English and their intercultural skills while in Finland. Finland has aimed for many years to increase the amount of international students and gain a larger amount of the global education market. Finland started allowing tuition to be charged for international students [those from outside the EU] studying in English in Finland from 2015. This was a major focus in the articles.

Saarinen calls the phenomenon—which is also being seen in the other Nordics—“anglophone asymmetry”. “We're small countries who want to use attractive

English-language programmes to draw in foreign students and researchers," she explained. Nowadays it's not uncommon for Finnish researchers to only publish scholarly papers in English. Given the dominant role of English in the wider academic world, wouldn't switching to English make sense?

## 5.2. Against increased English in Finnish education

### 5.2.1 Themes against increased English in Finnish education

There were three themes that actors used to justify their stance against the increased use of English within Finnish education. Two of these ideas are the same as those found being used by actors when justifying their stance for the increased use of English education. These themes are namely; economic competition and human-rights. The third idea that actors used to justify their position is a nationalistic argument.

Interestingly economic competition was also an argument used in justifying why there should not be increased English in Finnish education. This was discussed as Finns needing more than just English to be internationally economically competitive and to make Finnish companies able to do business with other countries and companies. The main argument here was that people in Finland need to be able to speak in many different languages and that people should be able to speak more languages than just their home language and English.

Experts say that the young Finns' diminished palette of languages poses a major problem in working life, where English is not enough. For instance, a study commissioned by the European Commission showed that a lack of linguistic skills translates directly into losses for corporations.

This can be linked to the imagery of competing blocs discussed previously. The actors argue that increasing English education leads to less languages being learned and thus less economically competitive Finns and Finnish businesses.

People arguing against increased English language education in Finland employ a human rights based argument. There is discussion on how making English a requirement alienates some Finns who are unable to speak English and only speak Finnish and is unfair for them. This rights based argument also focuses on how increased English in education is affected by the Language Act. The Language Act legally protects the country's two official languages Finnish and Swedish.

Some linguists in Finland are concerned about the infiltration of English-language words into the Finnish language. They fear that it may alienate Finns who aren't proficient in English and create inequalities, especially in public service.

There is also a large amount of discussion on the reduced availability of other foreign languages (as many municipalities offer only Finnish, Swedish and English in schools). The only places that are consistently offering other language choices are big cities such as Helsinki or Tampere. This is also discussed a lot as being really unfair and creating inequalities amongst Finns as only some have access to different language learning opportunities.

Language studies opportunities are becoming an increasingly rare privilege. In only a few towns is it any longer possible to take up any language other than English or Swedish as a first foreign language in elementary school. Language teaching is increasingly concentrated in major cities. Last year, middle schools in over 40 municipalities closed down all non-required foreign language courses.

This human-rights based argument also appeals to the shared ideal of equality. The actors use the same epistemic ideas and ideals here to argue against increased English education as the actors used above when arguing for increased English education.

One of the themes against increased English in Finnish education was an argument for protecting Finland and 'Finnishness'. Actors spoke about English as "undermining Finland's official languages". This theme focussing on protecting Finnish came up in several ways namely people saying that the increasing dominance of English threatens Finnish or threatens the national languages of Finland, that Finnish language skills will degrade as a result of the increase in English leading to less competent Finnish speakers and that foreigners will not be able to integrate into Finland and into Finnish culture while being able to receive education in English. These topics focus on the need to preserve or protect the Finnish language and Finnish culture.

"More points should be awarded for publishing research in Finnish," said Culture Minister Sampo Terho, whose nationalist Blue Reform party splintered from the Finns Party last year.

This part of nationalist argument is referred to by those arguing for the increased English as well. There were several instances of people rejecting the nationalist arguments given against the increased use of English in Finnish education.

“The discussion seems to be guided by nationalist ‘one nation, one language’ thinking, where languages have fields of use and boundaries. In reality, this is not the case, and this should be recognised in the Finnish debate,” he told Yle.

The resistance and backlash to this argument can be seen within the data and is a well known focal point within political debates where actors use identification with the nation, shared understanding of their social work and appealing to shared ideals in order to convince others. This appeal to the nation and national interest is another example of epistemic work where the actors focus on actors and identifications (Alasuutari, 2004).

These arguments here showcase how actors have done epistemic work in order to justify and support their position regarding increased English education in Finland. There were three main ideas found for increased English education namely; economic competition, human rights and internationalism. There were also three main ideas found for those against increased English education namely; economic competition, human rights and an appeal to protect the nation. This shows how actors do epistemic work and appeal to certain imageries when trying to justify their position and convince others.

### 5.2.2 Speakers against the increased use of English education in Finland

There were different findings for different groups of speakers. The speakers were categorised as politicians, newspapers, businesses, teachers / teacher representatives, university representatives, parents, foreigners living in Finland. Each group of speakers will be explored more in depth to find what arguments they used to argue against increased English language education in Finland.

The few businesses that were against increased English were advocating for other languages as being needed for international business and cooperation. They were expressing the need for more languages to be taught in Finland as the increased language diversity would be good for Finns international opportunities and for Finnish industries that focus internationally.



“Companies firstly emphasise English in recruitment, but in addition to good English, we also need Swedish and proficiency in other languages,” says Markku Koponen, Director of Training and Education at the Confederation of Finnish Industries.

Some politicians argue that the foreigners who move to Finland should not be accommodated but should adapt to living in Finland. They emphasise that new immigrants to Finland should integrate and learn Finnish.

Finns Party councillor Jussi Halla-aho tells the paper on the other hand that he sees no reason for the city of Helsinki to change its services to meet the needs of a growing foreign population, as the newcomers should instead adapt themselves to the Finnish situation.

There are three newspapers referred to by YLE. These are Turun Sanomat, Helsingin Sanomat and Hufvudstadsbladet. These three newspapers brought up the idea that the increased use of English was threatening to the Finnish language.

Meanwhile as HS hones in on Finland’s need to attract more foreign labour, Swedish-language daily Hufvudstadsbladet has latched on to Justice Minister Antti Häkkänen’s comments that Finland must do more to safeguard national languages Finnish and Swedish from the onslaught of English.

Newspapers were the most focussed on protecting Finland and Finnishness from English when comparing them to other groups of speakers.

Teachers arguing against the increased use of English within Finnish education focussed on the idea that Finnish children need to be able to speak other foreign languages. This was brought up as being incredibly important to Finnish internationalisation where Finns should be able to speak a range of foreign languages. It was seen as important for these children to be able to speak in several languages. The teachers spoke about other languages as losing ground in Finnish education with many tying it to either parents feeling that English is enough or to the limited range of languages offered to school aged children by schools. The teachers focussed on the limited range of languages and the limited funding for foreign language education in Finland.

Sanna Karppanen, chair of the Federation of Foreign Language Teachers, says that the broader effects of such a downward trend can only be guessed. "We don't know how this might affect the Finnish economy," says Karppanen. "Employers have long bemoaned the lack of proficient speakers of foreign languages on the job market."

Some university representatives argued that students should be able to professionally conduct themselves and their research in Finnish as well as English. There was a lot of discussion around how many of the students' bachelors and Master's thesis projects are published in English and how this should not be the case.

According to Petri Honkonen, the Finnish language must be prevented being relegated to a language only used in the home. Finland's Minister of Science and Culture Petri Honkonen (Cen) has said he is concerned about the status and future of the Finnish language. Honkonen based his comments on the fact that nearly eighty percent of master's theses at Aalto University and the University of Helsinki are currently written in English. As part of their master's programmes, students write a 30-credit thesis. "At worst, Finnish could become an obsolete language in the fields of science, research and thinking. In my opinion, this trend must definitely be stopped," Honkonen told Yle. He added that the Ministry of Education and Culture is commissioning a major study on whether the rapid spread of foreign languages threatens domestic science and research. Linguist Janne Saarikivi has been appointed as an independent investigator by the ministry. "We are waiting for proposals on how to safeguard the status of the Finnish language," Honkonen said.

Parents and foreigners living in Finland who were against increased English in Finnish education focussed on the need for children to have a range of foreign languages to choose from. Some foreign language speakers also spoke about the need for mother tongue language classes for their children in order for their children to maintain their skills in their mother tongue. Parents choose the foreign language that their children learn in school. Most Finns choose English for their children. Several parents commented on and critiqued the limited range of foreign language options for students in Finnish schools. One parent quoted in the data chose for their child to study Chinese instead of English and urged others to do the same and push their kids to take a different foreign language. Another parent argued that foreign born students should not have to take an introductory English class while studying in Finland and that they would be better served by learning a different foreign language.

Minna Huotilainen says that parents should be brave and take the plunge if their kids have the chance to learn a different language.

Finland offered students the chance to study their mother tongue through extra classes. These foreign language courses are being reduced due to budget cuts in the Finnish education system. Several parents brought this up.

About 500 children study their mother tongue in Jyväskylä which offers classes in 25 different languages. Jyväskylä city officials have proposed a possible cut to native-language teaching that would end the extra classes for children with a home or native language other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami. City officials have drawn up a savings list that includes the budget for native language heritage lessons, which currently cost the city some 57,000 euros. That is a small proportion of the cost of the lessons, as the central government reimburses the council for more than 80 percent of the expenditure. Almost 150 parents with a Russian background signed a petition on Monday urging the city to retain the classes. "We understand that parents have to invest their time in teaching the language themselves, but the lessons organised by the city are a great help," said Kira Mirutenko, whose 8-year-old daughter studies Russian after school.

Parents arguing against increased English language education in Finland want more options for their children including more foreign language study options and the option to enrol them in language clubs to maintain their mother tongue.

### 5.2.3 Arguments against increased English by educational level

At day care level those arguing against increased English education argue that there needs to be more options for different language day cares and more options for foreign language immersion at daycare.

Katri Mantere from the City of Tampere says there are several private institutions offering daycare in English. "In addition, we have one English-language group in a municipal daycare centre," she says. At the moment, 240 children are enrolled in English-language early years

education in Tampere. "Our supply meets demand," Mantere adds. Early years education is also available in French and German in Tampere. What is more, Tampere and some other cities organise so-called "language showers" or language immersion programmes, where language teacher students from local universities visit daycare centres to teach and play with children. So far, such immersion groups have been organised in English, Spanish, Chinese, Swedish, French, German, Russian and Italian. "These events serve as a basis for the culture and language education that daycare institutions offer on their own," says Outi Verkama, who coordinates the project in Tampere.

At school level those arguing against increased English education argue that there need to be more foreign language options. The most prevalent discussion under school level education focussed on the need for an increased range of foreign language learning options. The articles expressed how Finland is declining in language skills as many students used to take Finnish, Swedish as well as two or three additional languages while nowadays many students only take Finnish or Swedish and English. The loss of foreign language skills is seen as a potential loss within the Finnish job market as foreign language skills are considered positively. There was significant discussion on how the curriculum change from mandatory Swedish learning to optional Swedish learning is part of this trend in language skill loss. There were two main theories presented on why there is such a significant reduction in foreign language skills: decreased funding for language studies in school and students choosing to focus on only English. In the larger cities in Finland students are still able to choose from a range of foreign languages but smaller schools have reduced the amount of language choices. Many schools in Finland now offer only English as their foreign language. This is seen as creating inequalities as access to different foreign language studies becomes limited to the major cities in Finland such as Helsinki or Tampere. The opinion in the articles was that English should not be the only foreign language choice for Finnish students. It was also stated that for many English was not a good choice as their first foreign language as many Finns have very good English skills as they are already exposed to English through the media, gaming and the internet. English skills are, in fact, so good there is a need to increase the difficulty of the curriculum. This has been discussed since prior to 2008 (Kantelinen & Pollari 2008) and continues to be a major topic of conversation.

Finnish schools teach languages earlier than ever, but struggle to move beyond English

Language clubs were another theme found within the discussion on school level education.

Language clubs are for those that speak a mother tongue other than Finnish or Swedish and have

school aged children. They meet frequently in person in order to provide the children with more opportunities to engage with others in their native language. People were concerned that the budget cuts would lead to the loss of these classes which are considered to be valuable for the children involved. Those arguing for these language clubs to continue emphasised the importance of foreign language skills for Finland and for the affected children.

According to Ghafouri, cutting the classes would make it difficult for his son to stay in touch with his Iranian roots and family back home. "I would be really disappointed if this happens. In the long run, Finnish society will benefit from these classes because a person with strong language skills can be a bridge between cultures," Ghafuri added.

At the level of higher education there was a strong reaction against the use or perceived 'dominance' of English in higher education in Finland. This was evident in the data in many ways as it was pointed out several times that the law requires that there are completion options in Swedish or Finnish and the writers of the articles chose to describe English in opposition to Finnish. English is described as replacing Finnish in university settings and as dominating the university. Aalto university's choice to have the majority of its masters level courses only available in English was seen as going against the language law in Finland. In one report from Aalto university around 5% of its masters courses in economics were taught in Finnish. Those interviewed pointed out that internationalisation efforts do not make universities exempt from the law put in place to protect Finnish and Swedish.

English is already, in practice, the main language for academic work by graduate students at Aalto University. For example, in technical fields, less than one doctoral thesis out of one hundred is written in Finnish.

### 5.3 Sámi

Sámi is mentioned in discussions on languages in Finland very infrequently within this data. Sámi has only 10 references in the data while Finnish has 289 and Swedish has 153. The Sámi and discussions around this are outside the scope and focus of this thesis as this thesis is focussing on the discourse on English within Finnish education.

The cabinet's report also states that the position of the language of the indigenous Sámi people is fragile, and that their linguistic rights are only randomly observed. It is especially difficult to get public services in spoken Sámi. A major problem is that many Sámi children live outside traditional Sámi areas and so do not get instruction in their native language at school.

## 6. Discussion:

Prior research on the topic of English language education discourse in Finland had found mixed discourse with some people expressing the need and importance of English while others felt that English dominance threatened Finnish. This thesis found that there were many arguments for and against the increase of English within Finnish education.

The main findings from the research were that there were three common ideas when arguing for increasing English education in Finland and three ideas when arguing against increasing English education in Finland. Those arguing for increased English education brought up the ideas of economic competition, human rights, internationalisation/ modernisation while those arguing against increased English education brought up the ideas of economic competition, human rights and nationalism. The human rights argument here is an excellent example of epistemic work. The argument ties together the three parts of epistemic work ontology of the environment, actors and identification and norms and ideals. The actors express the idea that people need access to certain goods and services in their own language, that there are different groups of people with specific needs and the ideal of people having human rights. The idea of economic competition can be seen as a similar example showing epistemic work. It can also be seen as an example of the actors using certain imageries when doing epistemic work. The actors here express that the world is made up of competing blocs that are in competition with each other.

Different groups or categories of actors brought up different arguments and topics when justifying their stance on increased English language education. Businesses argued for increased English education as a means of attracting international talent and against increased English because there is a need for other foreign language skills. Politicians argue for increased English education as a means of attracting international talent and against increased English education as they argue that foreigners need to integrate into Finland. Both of these arguments for attracting international talent use the imagery of the social world as competing blocs. Nations are positioned as being in competition with each other for these 'international talents'. Newspapers argued for increased English education as migrants need access to services and against increased English education as English threatens the Finnish language. Newspapers can thus be seen as focussing more on appealing to norms and ideals when doing epistemic work. Teachers argue for increased English education as more international schools are needed and against increased English education as

other foreign language skills are needed. Universities argue for increased English education in order to be more economically competitive and modern and argue against increased English education as it threatens Finnish. Parents and foreigners for increased English education as they need more English schools and against increased English as other languages are needed.

Looking at the arguments put forth by various groups of actors when justifying their stances on the increase of English within Finnish education it is interesting that many of them brought up the same ideas and arguments. For example, parents and foreigners brought up the exact same ideas. This shows how these actors are doing epistemic work of trying to convince the wider public and their audience using the same ideas. One of the major ideas that was brought up by various categories of speakers was the need for more language options. This was brought up as being important to economic competitiveness, identity and equality. It was mentioned as being important to economic competitiveness as Finnish people should be able to speak a range of languages in order to compete in the global market. This once again shows the imagery of the social world as being composed of competing blocs. More language options was seen as important to identity in the case of language clubs which allow foreign born students the opportunity to speak to others in their mother tongue and retain their language skills. Prior research has found that access to language education is not equal across Finland as major cities have better access to a wider range of language study options (Ennser-Kananen et al. 2023) and this topic was brought up by many of the actors within this study as they used the norms and ideals of equality when arguing.

Newspapers were the most focussed on protecting Finland and Finnishness from English when comparing them to other groups of speakers. Universities and university representatives brought up the same topics which had been found in prior research. Businesses unsurprisingly focussed on English language education as being an opportunity to access the global market or focussed on the lack of other foreign language skills as reducing access to the global market. Politicians had focussed on the issue of English language education as a part of the immigration debate. They argue that more English is needed in order to attract international talent or that English is not needed as the immigrants to Finland should integrate and learn Finnish. These two stances on the responsibility of immigrants to either assimilate or integrate into Finland have been a part of Finnish politics and political discourse for a long time (Kyntäjä 2000) and the discussions of immigration and immigrants have become more politically heated in recent years (Gidron & Hall, 2020). The political affiliation of politicians was not considered when doing this research, but it is likely that the different discourses are according to their political affiliation.



The findings here give some insight into who is authorised to speak on the topic of English language education in Finland as the different groups of speakers namely politicians, newspapers, businesses, teachers / teacher representatives, university representatives, parents, foreigners living in Finland. They are being brought into the discussion by the Finnish media because they have epistemic capital. Speakers like teachers and university representatives are assumed by actors to have ontological capital as they have specialised knowledge on the topic.

Looking at the findings by different educational levels shows many of the main findings with daycare education mainly arguing for the need for more English, school having arguments for and against and university having mostly arguments against the perceived dominance of English. The discussions around day care are for increasing English language education by having more international schools in order to attract international talent while school level argues that there is a need for international schools, language clubs but there should be more foreign language options. At University level the argument for focuses on internationalisation while the argument against is that English language dominates academia.

## 7. Conclusion

This thesis explored the discourse around English language education in Finland through an epistemic governance perspective. There is a long history of English language education in Finland and English has become a globally important language for international cooperation and collaboration yet there is discourse in Finland opposing the increase in English language education. This thesis was able to add to the existing literature on the topic as it explored the discourse on English language education in a more contemporary setting. Much of the prior research on this topic focussed on what people's attitudes were towards English and did not explore how these arguments were made. This thesis focused on how actors made their arguments for or against the increased English in Finnish education.

I recommend that in order to better understand the discourse surrounding English language education in Finland a wider variety of sources should be consulted such as linked content from YLE news or other news sites. Future research could explore the comments section on these articles and therefore explore public discourse more directly. Additionally research on this topic should be done in Finnish by looking at articles published in Finnish. Future research could go more into depth exploring how and what types of epistemic capital actors invoke when doing epistemic work and it could further explore the imageries and metaphors employed by different actors. It could look into this more and explore what kinds of epistemic capital each group of speakers is considered to have and whether they are more likely to be invoked when employing certain objects of epistemic work.

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## Appendix 1:

	Article name	Publication date
1	Finnish-Language Instruction Under Threat?	2005-8-9
2	More European Exchange Students in Finland	2005-12-7
3	Worrying Decline In Language Skills	2008-2-4
4	Linguists Worry About English Language Infiltration	2009-7-14
5	Foreigners Happier than Finns With Polytechnics	2009-10-13
6	Student Unions Reject Tuition Fees for Non-EU Nationals	2010-2-24
7	Foreign Students Losing Interest in Finnish Polytechnics	2010-3-23
8	English Remains Preferred Foreign Language in Finnish Schools	2010-5-25
9	EK: Stop Mandatory Swedish	2010-6-1
10	Finnish School children Studying Fewer Foreign Languages	2010-7-28
11	Schools Developing Foreign Native Language Tuition	2010-8-17
12	YLE Poll: Many Municipalities Want to Scrap Mandatory School Swedish	2010-10-25
13	Multicultural Kids Hold on to Linguistic Heritage	2011-2-11
14	English in Schools Too Easy for Pupils	2011-3-1
15	English Language Day Care Provision On Rise In Helsinki	2011-4-20
16	Slow Start to Tuition Trial for Foreign Students	2011-5-19
17	In Tampere, the future is English-speaking	2011-9-28
18	Ministry suggests foreign student cut at Saimaa University	2012-8-8
19	MPs call for fees for non-EU students	2013-1-6
20	Aalto University goes for English-only business programmes	2013-2-16
21	English-language invasion troubles Finnish academia	2013-3-10
22	More Finnish kids opt to study English than native languages	2013-5-24

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23	Language rights under scrutiny	2013-6-15
24	More Finns ready to pay for university education	2013-8-8
25	Teachers fear for language skills without compulsory Swedish	2014-1-9
26	University language proficiency test shortfall	2014-1-27
27	Thursday's papers: Big earners, pink army power, language pressures, a stolen drugs warning and ship-side conduct	2014-4-10
28	Wednesday's papers: Youth ignoring less-popular languages, Turku gets big bill and bus services set to open up	2014-5-7
29	English language dominance worries language teachers	2014-9-10
30	Study finds better school outcomes for students learning languages	2014-9-17
31	Foreign graduates struggle in Finnish labour market	2014-11-28
32	English increasingly common in Finnish streets and culture	2015-3-8
33	Research: Video games driving English language skills; other languages suffer	2015-3-9
34	Finns top-notch in English skills	2015-4-17
35	English language instruction to start in second grade	2015-5-6
36	Vantaa to start teaching English from first grade	2015-6-10
37	New curriculum boosts children's language learning through fun	2015-11-20
38	Universities follow suit: Tampere cheaper for foreign students than Helsinki in 2017	2016-2-3
39	Teachers concerned about declining interest in foreign languages	2017-5-16
40	Monday's papers: Possible police reserve, Supercell wants more English daycare, weekend tragedies and narrow rescue	2017-5-22
41	Espoo plans English-language education "from kindergarten to doctorate" in two years	2017-9-18
42	Experts concerned over dominance of English in schools	2017-9-21

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43	Education Minister: High school students should be allowed to study—and graduate—in English	2017-12-22
44	Finland ranks sixth in English skills, early instruction crucial	2018-2-12
45	English language matriculation exam proves tricky for native speakers	2018-3-21
46	Foreign language skills worsening, except in English	2018-3-22
47	Pilot: Some Finnish first graders get chance to learn Chinese	2018-8-9
48	Tuesday's papers: Celebs join Liike Nyt, citizens' initiatives in danger, English as language of science	2018-8-21
49	Tuesday's papers: Finland and Nato, English gaining ground, peeking at your neighbour's finances	2018-10-30
50	Finland bottom of the Nordic English class	2018-11-6
51	More than 90 percent of Finnish residents know at least one foreign language	2018-12-12
52	Friday's papers: MPs dodge Supo bias, garbage goes to waste, and Finns fear English-language dominance	2018-12-14
53	Friday's papers: English education, economic growth and slippery sidewalks	2018-12-28
54	Tuesday's papers: University admission rates, Helsinki daycare expansion, and a strike in Oulu	2019-3-19
55	Friday's papers: Pension problems, the conquest of English and happy retirees	2019-3-22
56	Wednesday's papers: Foreign language teaching, heat wave deaths and spring feeling	2019-3-27
57	English increasingly dominant at Finnish schools	2019-5-23
58	Monday's papers: Faltering foreign languages, daycare discontent, appearance angst, Arctic chill	2019-9-16
59	APN this week: Can Finland meet the growing demand for	2019-10-2

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	English-language education?	
60	Helsinki vows to improve services in English	2019-10-2
61	All Points North #62: How English-ready is the Finnish school system?	2019-10-3
62	Swedish-language high schools dominate best results list	2019-12-2
63	Foreign language learning starting earlier, but few get a choice	2020-1-9
64	Some Swedish speakers in Finland prefer English over Finnish	2020-2-16
65	Finnish schools teach languages earlier than ever, but struggle to move beyond English	2020-8-13
66	Dual-heritage kids' language lessons under threat as Jyväskylä seeks savings	2020-9-21
67	Some schools moving towards expanded language teaching	2021-2-15
68	Helsinki Mayor: English could be the capital's language	2021-8-28
69	Friday's papers: Under-employment, English education and a sponsorship plea	2021-9-3
70	Education body: Dramatic rise in applications for English-language degree courses	2022-1-20
71	Monday's papers: Tesla and train service troubles, and Helsinki ponders English-language teaching	2022-4-4
72	Researcher: Finns should be proud of speaking 'Rally English'	2022-10-24
73	Culture minister concerned over academic status of Finnish language	2023-1-4
74	Students challenge English language dominance at Aalto university	2023-3-20
75	APN podcast: Is Finland leaving English-speaking kids behind?	2023-4-20
76	This will decide your entire future — English-speaking kids hampered by Finnish education bottleneck	2023-4-21
77	English-language dominance at Aalto University breaches Finnish law, justice office says	2023-5-8

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78	APN Podcast: Finland's English-language conundrum	2023-5-12
79	37% of university applicants secure study places, but only 16% for those in English	2023-7-7
80	Aalto University plans to cut back on teaching in English	2023-8-31
81	Study: Rising use of English no threat to Finnish language	2023-10-17
82	Survey: Finns worry about English-language influence	2023-12-4